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THREE BRONZE TRIPODS BELONGING TO
JAMES LOEB, ESQ.

[PLATES VIII-XVIII]

THE three tripods which are reproduced on PLATES VIII-XVIII were purchased by Mr. James Loeb in Rome in 1905. They are reported to have been discovered in an Etruscan tomb in the neighborhood of Perugia. All three had evidently been found in a fragmentary condition and had been partially put together in Rome, the three sides of each stand being mounted on copper plates and one of the large bowls—that of tripod B—partially reconstructed on a framework of copper bands. In this condition the tripods were shipped to America and deposited in the Fogg Museum of Art at Cambridge, Massachusetts, where the work of further reconstruction was entrusted to Mr. Paul Hoffman of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Mr. Hoffman deserves great credit for the patience with which he performed his difficult task. Each of the tripods was mounted on a central rod by means of movable horizontal cross-rods, in such a way as to suggest, as nearly as possible, its original appearance. Then the undecorated parts and the figures of animals were put together so far as the evidence of fractures, curvature, and patina allowed. Some idea of the difficulty of the task may be gained from Figure 1, which shows the tripods and fragments as they appeared during the first months of Mr. Hoffman's work in one of the rooms of the Fogg Museum. Ultimately it was found possible to reconstruct the bowls of the two larger tripods almost entirely and to determine the positions of the sphinxes and lions upon them. The third bowl proved to be so fragmentary that its recon-

struction was impossible. In addition to the fragments of this bowl and the animals that decorated it, a number of small pieces remained to which places could not be assigned. Among them is a fragment with a swan's (?) head and neck which does not



FIGURE 1. — TRIPODS AND FRAGMENTS.

seem to belong with the tripods at all. It is clearly no part of any of the reliefs, and the bronze is somewhat thicker than that of most parts of the tripods. This creates a suspicion that among the undecorated fragments there may be some that were carelessly confused with the remains of the tripods by the finders. But most of the unplaced pieces are clearly parts of the third bowl and its decorative figures in the round.

On the completion of Mr. Hoffman's work, the two larger tripods (A and B) were sent to the Metropolitan Museum in New York, to which they had been lent. Here some further work was done; the copper plates on which the plaques with reliefs were mounted were painted green, and the lacunae in the bowls were filled with *papier maché*, which also was given a green color. These modern parts come out clearly in the

plates. Early in 1907, these two tripods were placed on exhibition in the newly constituted Bronze Room, and a brief account of them was published in the *Bulletin of the Museum*.¹ At about the same time, the third tripod (C) was placed on exhibition in the Fogg Museum.

As they now stand, the tripods undoubtedly present something like the appearance that they presented in antiquity. But it must be admitted that the reconstruction is approximate rather than exact. Considerable parts of each are clearly missing, and the relative positions of the preserved parts may have been different in some details from those in which they have been placed. It would have been possible, of course, to supply some of the missing parts with specially cast pieces, and some details might have been made clearer by careful cleaning. This, however, would have been a long and difficult process, and the cleaning would inevitably have injured the patina, which is rightly felt to be one of the most attractive features of ancient bronzes. It has seemed best, therefore, to publish the tripods as they now appear, with full recognition that further work of reconstruction at a later time may modify their appearance in some respects. With this understanding, I shall attempt in the following pages to describe the tripods accurately and to discuss briefly their date and stylistic affinities.

All three tripods have essentially the same form. Each of the larger vessels consists of a great bowl supported on a three-sided stand, the transition from base to bowl being made by a hollow cylinder of bronze. In the case of the third, the bowl and the cylindrical support are in very fragmentary condition, but enough is preserved to show that the form was originally the same as that of the other two. The method of joining the separate parts cannot be made out with certainty in all details, but it seems to have been approximately as follows: The three plaques which form the lower part were placed together in such

¹ Cf. *B. Metr. Mus.* II, 1907, pp. 33-40. Except for a description of the third tripod, this account is practically identical with the paper read at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute in January, 1907; cf. *A.J.A.* XI, 1907, pp. 61 and 372.

a way that their edges overlapped, and were fastened together with rivets. Several of the rivets are still in place, and the holes for others can be made out in a number of places. The junctures of the plaques at the sides were concealed by narrow covering rods, also, apparently, held in place by rivets. The lower ends of the rods and the lower corners of the plaques were firmly fixed in the feet, which have the form of lions' paws. The method of attaching the cylindrical support to the three-sided stands cannot be determined with certainty in the case of the two larger tripods, but in the case of the third, several fragments of the upper parts of the plaques are still attached by rivets to the lower edge of the cylindrical support, so that it is probable that this method was employed in the other instances. The awkward triangular spaces just below the cylinders, at the angles of the three-sided stands, were decorated with separately cast pieces, which have been preserved in one case (tripod C). The bowls apparently were simply set into the cylindrical supports without fastening.

In the descriptions that follow, each tripod is designated by a capital letter (A, B, C); the separate plates of the three-sided stands are designated by numbers (1, 2, 3) in the order in which they succeed each other from left to right, and the separate fields into which each plaque is divided are designated by small letters (a, b, c) counting from above downward.¹

TRIPOD A (PLATES VIII-XI)

This is the largest of the three tripods. Its dimensions as reconstructed are : Height, 1.378 m. Height of plaques with relief decoration, inside mouldings, 44.3 cm. Height of cylindrical support, 34.8 cm. Height of bowl, 28.2 cm. Bottom width of plaques, 33.7 cm. Diameter of bowl, *ca.* 57 cm.

Two of the three sides are almost perfectly preserved; of the third a considerable part is missing at the bottom. Each plaque is divided into two fields by a pair of simple convex mouldings. The relative position of the three plaques is determined by the fact that Bellerophon and the Chimaera

¹ Thus A, 1, b is the second field from the top on side 1 of tripod A; B, 3, c is the third field from the top on side 3 of tripod B, etc.

probably occupied adjacent sides, facing each other. Parts of all three covering rods were found among the fragments and have been replaced as nearly as possible in their original positions. The cylindrical support is remarkably well preserved. It is decorated near the bottom with a heavy convex moulding almost semicircular in profile. Higher up, there is a narrower moulding with a convex profile at top and bottom, but hollowed out in the middle. Then there is a break where a small convex moulding seems to have been lost, and then a broad convex moulding forms a transition to the flaring upper portion, which is decorated with a tongue pattern.

The bowl has been put together from many fragments, but all about the centre of the bowl the fragments join exactly, so that the profile as restored is certainly correct. On the rim of the bowl six figures in the round, three sphinxes and three winged lions, have been placed. The correctness of this arrangement has been questioned, but it seems certain from the rivet holes in the fragments of the rim and from the forms of the sphinxes and lions. The bodies of these animals have a curvature which agrees with the curvature of the bowl; their heads are all turned in one direction (outward, as they have been placed on the bowl); and the number of the figures and their size favor their adjustment in this position. The forms are of pronounced archaic type. In the sphinxes the eyes are large and prominent; the mouth has a marked "archaic smile"; the ear is greatly exaggerated and placed too high. The heads are covered by pointed caps, with a wide band at the bottom decorated with zigzags. The wings consist of thin plates of bronze, separately made and attached. They have recurved ends. Along the lower part of each wing the separate feathers are carefully indicated; the upper part is treated as a scale pattern. The tails are made of long pieces of wire, beaten out at the ends into flat triangular pieces, and these are attached to the bodies by means of rivets. The lions have large eyes and prominent mouths. The ears are laid back, the manes summarily indicated. The tails and the wings have the same forms as those of the sphinxes. The cover of the bowl has been put together from a large number of fragments. It is plain except for a large round boss at the centre, which served as a handle.

The detailed description of the three-sided stands is as follows:—

A, 1, a (PLATE IX). *Seated Sphinx facing right.*—In front, a branch rises from the ground line. The body of the monster is long and thin, and the outline of the ribs is indicated. In the head the most noticeable features are the marked drawing up of the corner of the mouth, the large and prominent eye, the poorly modelled and badly placed ear, and the treatment of the hair as a mass falling to the shoulder. The wing is long, with recurving tip, and is treated in three levels. The tail is treated decoratively, curled under the leg, and rising as a graceful spiral to fill the space between the wings and the hind quarters.

A, 1, b. *Chimaera facing right.*—The monster is conceived in the form in which it is usually represented in Greek art, as a lion with a serpent for a tail and with a goat's head attached to the body. The goat's head is here peculiar in that it is attached at the shoulder, and the neck, if it can be so called, is represented in a manner which suggests a wing.¹ The lion's jaws are open, the ears laid back. The gaze of all three heads is directed to the right, and the monster was evidently moving in that direction. These features of the design suggest that the Chimaera is not simply a decorative figure, but is closely connected with the corresponding figure on the next plaque (A, 2, b), and that it is the contest of Bellerophon and the Chimaera that is represented, — a unique instance among these designs of a subject divided between two adjacent sides.

A, 2, a (PLATE X). *Seated Lion facing left.*—In front a branch rises from the ground line. Above a bird flies to left. The type of the lion is similar to that of the sphinx on side 1. It has the same thin, wiry body, the same pose with one leg advanced, and the tail is curled under the leg and treated in the same decorative manner. There is little attempt to suggest details of anatomy in the body; only the outline of the ribs and the line of the shoulder are indicated in low relief. The bird has the form which is common on vases of the sixth

¹ Cf. the similar figure on C, 1, a and the wings of the sphinxes on B, 2, b. Also *Ant. Denk.* II, pl. 41; the bucchero vase, Micali, *Mon. per servire*, pl. 26, 2; and the Ionic gold ring, Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. VII, 10.

century and earlier, with one wing above the body and one below it.

A, 2, b. *Bellerophon and Pegasus*. — The hero is mounted on his winged steed, which gallops toward the left, his hind feet touching the ground line, his fore feet some distance above it. Pegasus's legs are unusually slender and his tail wonderfully heavy. The wing, which is attached at the shoulder, is not recurved at the end, but is remarkably short and stumpy. The form is due, perhaps, to the artist's desire to represent as much as possible of the figure of Bellerophon. Even as it is, the hero largely disappears behind the wing of his mount. His left arm is extended and his left hand grasps the bridle, which is worked out in great detail. In his right hand he poises his spear for a throw. In the modelling of the head, the large eye is noticeable and the very awkward placing of the ear. The modelling of the nude is superficial, though the toes of the left foot are carefully indicated. The dress is hardly indicated at all, but it is apparently a short-sleeved chiton; there is a trace of the ends of the sleeves just above the elbows and at the waist a suggestion of the girdle. Behind Bellerophon a flying bird fills the field and underneath the body of Pegasus a dog runs toward the left. This figure, again, is modelled without much detail except for the narrow collar which appears on the neck.

Bellerophon's fight with the Chimaera is a favorite subject in early Greek art. The earliest example is probably the Argive ("proto-Corinthian") lecythus in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts,¹ on which the subject is represented in a manner very similar to that of our reliefs. Bellerophon dashes at the monster, poising a long spear for the throw. The principal difference between the two representations is that on the vase Pegasus has all four feet off the ground, and so seems to be flying rather than running. Somewhat later, probably roughly contemporary with the tripods, is the situla from Daphnae,² which is especially interesting in connection with our relief, because the scene is divided between the two sides of the vase.

¹ Hoppin, *A.J.A.* IV, 1900, pp. 441 ff., pl. IV.

² Brit. Mus., B 105; published in *Tanis*, II, pl. 26, 8, and *Jb. Arch.* I. X, 1895, p. 37, Fig. 1.

Later still is the Attic black-figured cylix from Camirus in the Louvre.¹ In all these early examples we find a close combat depicted, and Bellerophon faces the Chimaera. The early Melian terra-cotta,² on the other hand, shows Bellerophon above the Chimaera, and this is the usual scheme of the combat in the later, red-figured vases.³ Compared with most of these later representations and even with some of the earlier group, the Pegasus of our relief seems stiff and wooden. Nevertheless, the figures have something of the freshness and vigor which form the principal charm of archaic art, and the artist has succeeded to some extent in expressing the rapid motion that was clearly in his mind. To this effect the running dog contributes not a little. Such an association of a horse and a dog is a favorite device in archaic art, though I have not found it employed elsewhere in connection with Pegasus. It seems to be a particular favorite in the Ionic schools of painting,⁴ but it occurs also on Corinthian and other mainland vases.⁵

A, 3, a (PLATE XI). *Winged Panther facing left, head en face.* — The pose is similar to that of the sphinx of A, 1, a and the lion of A, 2, a, and the tail is treated in the same decorative fashion. The wing, however, differs from the wing of the sphinx, being treated in a series of curving lines radiating from a strongly marked rib at the upper side.⁶

¹ A 478; Pottier, *Vases Ant. du Louvre*, pl. 17.

² *Cat. Terra-Cottas in Brit. Mus.*, B 364; Millingen, *Anc. Uned. Mon.*, pt. II, pl. 3.

³ Cf. Tischbein, *Collection of Engravings from Ancient Vases*, I, pl. 1; *Ann. d. Ist.* 1874, pls. B, C, D, E; and the Apulian vases, Karlsruhe, 388, *Mon. d. Ist.* II, pl. 50; Naples, 3253, *Mon. d. Ist.* IX, pl. 52; and Berlin, 3258, Gerhard, *Apul. Vasenbilder*, pl. VIII, IX, X. Cf. also the *ἐπινητορ* in Athens, Collignon and Couve, *Catalogue*, No. 1589, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1892, pl. 13.

⁴ Cf. especially the Clazomenian sarcophagi, e.g. *Ant. Denk.* I, pls. 45 and 46, and II, pl. 27; Murray, *Terra-cotta Sarcophagi in the Brit. Mus.*, pls. 1, 4, 5, 6; the "Pontic" amphora in the Museo Gregoriano, *Röm. Mitt.* II, 1887, p. 172, No. III and pl. 9; and the Ionic vase in the Bibliothèque Nationale, De Ridder, *Catalogue*, No. 171, *Mon. d. Ist.* II, pl. 18, and De Luynes, *Description de quelques vases peints*, pl. 6. Cf. also the Ionic sima from Sitia in Crete, *Röm. Mitt.* XXI, 1906, pp. 64 ff.

⁵ Cf. the Corinthian amphora, Berlin, 1652, *Mon. d. Ist.* X, pl. 52, 2.

⁶ Very similar seated panthers with heads *en face* and tails in spirals occur on the Ionic vase in the Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 171 (cf. note 4 *supra*), and on the terra-cotta tripod from Tanagra in Berlin, No. 1727, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, pl. 4.

A, 3, b. *Peleus and Thetis*. — Thetis flees toward the left, looking back at Peleus, who places his right hand on her left shoulder. He is dressed in a short, sleeveless chiton, and has long hair which falls over his shoulders and is confined by a band above his forehead. A curious detail is the representation of the left hand; all the fingers are clasped except the index, which is extended pointing downward and made remarkably long. Thetis is dressed in a close-fitting chiton with sleeves reaching to the elbow. With her left hand she grasps the lower part of her dress at the side, and the folds which result from this movement are represented by four flat bands and two grooves. On her right foot (the left is lost) she wears a pointed shoe turned up at the toe. Her right hand is raised. Her hair is represented as a mass falling to the shoulders, with no modelling in detail. In her ear is a round earring. From her left shoulder a serpent rises. In front of Thetis is a second female figure also running toward the left. In dress and attitude she is similar to Thetis except that she does not look back and does not grasp her skirt with her left hand. She is probably to be interpreted as a Nereid.

The whole scene recalls the representation of Peleus and Thetis on the chest of Cypselus, Paus. V, 18, 5: *πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Θέτις παρθένος, λαμβάνεται δὲ αὐτῆς Πηλεὺς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χειρὸς τῆς Θέτιδος ὄφεις ἐπὶ τὸν Πηλέα ἐστὶν ὀρμών*. In preserved monuments, the usual type for the myth is the wrestling of Peleus and Thetis, where the transformations of the goddess are suggested by a small lion, or a panther, or a serpent, which threatens Peleus or even attacks him. By the addition of other figures, — Nereids, Nereus, Hermes, or Chiron, — the scene is frequently enlarged into an extended composition.¹ Occasionally, however, an earlier moment in the story is depicted, Peleus starting from his hiding place to seize Thetis as she sports with the other daughters of Nereus² or pursuing her and her attendants.³ In these types the transformations of

¹ Cf. the lists of examples given by Graef, *Jb. Arch. I*, 1886, pp. 201 ff.

² Cf. the Corinthian crater, *a colonette*, Louvre, E 639, *Jb. Arch. I*, 1886, pl. 10, 1; the red-figured hydria, Louvre, G 428, *Mon. d. Ist. I*, pl. 6; and the fragments of a red-figured vase in Halle, *Jb. Arch. I*, 1886, pl. 10, 2.

³ Cf. the late red-figured calpis, Munich 807, Millingen, *Peintures de Vases*, pl. 4. The early black-figured cylix, Salzmann, *Néc. de Camiros*, pl. 54, 2 and

Thetis are not usually suggested.¹ For the representation of the beginning of the contest, accompanied by a suggestion of the goddess's change of form, such as we have here, I have found only one close parallel, a double disk of terra-cotta in Athens,² on one side of which Peleus appears just seizing Thetis, while a serpent coils up his back. The style is that of the later severe red-figured vases. That the type is an early one, however, is proved by its occurrence on the chest of Cypselus. The maker of the tripod has expanded the simple type by the addition of another Nereid, in accordance with the size of the space to be filled.

TRIPOD B (PLATES XII-XV)

The second tripod is slightly smaller than tripod A. Its dimensions as reconstructed are: Height, 1.225 m. Height of plaques with relief decoration, inside mouldings, 43.8 cm. Height of cylindrical support, 28.4 cm. Height of bowl, 30.8 cm. Bottom width of plaques, *ca.* 25.8 cm. Diameter of bowl, *ca.* 58.5 cm.

Only one side (3) is well preserved; considerable parts of the other two are missing. Parts of all three covering rods were found among the fragments. The cylindrical support is worked out into a complicated series of mouldings with a tongue pattern at the top. The bowl is less complete than that of tripod A, but sufficiently well preserved to make reconstruction possible. The three sphinxes and the three lions with which it was decorated are smaller than those of tripod A and much more fragmentary, but their position on the bowl is indicated by the rivet holes for their attachment, by the curvature of the bodies, and especially by the fact that the left fore leg in each case is shorter than the right,—a variation from regular form due to the raised rim of the bowl on which the shorter legs rest. The form of these animals differs from that of the corresponding figures on tripod A in that the

3, is probably to be interpreted in this way, but it must be admitted that this interpretation is doubtful.

¹ The Munich calpis is the only exception.

² Collignon-Couve, *Catalogue*, No. 1202, Benndorf, *Gr. u. Siz. Vasenbilder*, pl. 32, 4.

sphinxes and lions of tripod B are sitting, not lying at length. The sphinxes wear pointed caps like the sphinxes of tripod A, but these were made separately and attached. In one case, the cap has a roll at the bottom adorned with a rope pattern. The hair of the sphinxes and the manes of the lions are indicated by incised lines, and the tails are of wire attached to the bodies by rivets like the tails of the corresponding figures on tripod A.

The cover is strongly convex, and at the centre stands the figure of a warrior which evidently served as a handle (Fig. 2). This figure was cast solid and is almost perfectly preserved. The warrior was in full panoply, with helmet, breastplate, greaves, and shield. The helmet is of the Corinthian type, with fixed cheek pieces; it has a lofty crest on a stout support, which has the form of a bird's head and neck. The breastplate is short, reaching only to the waist, and below it the lower part of the chiton is represented. The greaves cover



FIGURE 2. — WARRIOR ON TRIPOD B.

the knees. The spear was made separately and thrust through a small hole in the raised right hand. The shield also was made separately and attached to the arm by a broad handle, which is the only part that has survived. The face of the warrior, so far as it can be seen through the helmet, is of archaic type, with smiling mouth and eyes *à fleur de tête*. Particularly noticeable is the emphasis laid on the eyelids, which are treated as projecting ridges. The hair is long, falling over the shoulders behind, with incised wavy lines to indicate the detail.

The reliefs on the plaques are as follows :

B, 1, a (PLATE XIII). *Two seated Figures facing each other.*—Both are apparently male. Of the one at the right only a small portion, including the head, the raised right hand, and the lower left leg, is preserved. The other figure, however, is complete. The man is seated on a folding stool, the legs of which end in lion's paws. He is dressed in chiton and himation; the edge of the short sleeve of the former appears on the right arm; the latter is a long, heavy robe passing obliquely across the breast and falling in a long end behind. The long hair falls in a mass to the shoulders, with a single lock in front of the right shoulder. Both the man's arms are bent at the elbow, and his hands are raised in front of him, the right hand open, the left grasping a short staff (?), which rests on his shoulder and ends in a crook. Behind the man stands a large bird, perhaps an eagle.

Whether this is anything more than a scene from daily life cannot be determined in the fragmentary condition of the plaque. Professor H. N. Fowler has suggested to me that the subject may be Zeus and Hera. To such a theory the presence of the eagle, if the bird is to be so interpreted, lends some support. But this interpretation seems to me doubtful, and the second figure is, I think, male. We have, then, either a simple scene from daily life or a mythological subject to which we lack the key. It may be compared with a similar group in the interior of a Cyrenaic cylix in Munich.¹

B, 1, b. *Perseus pursued by Gorgons.*—Perseus flees toward the left, turning his head to look toward the two Gorgons behind him. The hero is characterized by the *kibisis*, which is represented as a large bag slung by a strap around his neck, and by a peculiar cap, intended, doubtless, to suggest the Ἀιδου κυνέη. Instead of the usual winged sandals, he wears high boots with turned-up toes. His chiton is short, and on the arms short sleeves are indicated. The hair is represented as a mass falling to the shoulders, with a single lock in front of the right shoulder. His right hand is raised; his left supports the *kibisis*. The two female figures are less well preserved, part of the head of the first and the head and right arm of the second being lost. So far as they are preserved, the two figures are exactly similar.

¹ Jahn, No. 737, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881, pl. 13, 5.

Each wears shoes with turned-up toes and a peculiar chiton, open in front. The left hand grasps the skirt and draws it up, so that it reaches only to a little below the knee. On the edge of the chiton of the first figure an incised pattern can be clearly seen, and there are traces of a similar pattern on the chiton of the second. The right arm of the first figure is raised, and the position of the right arm of the second was probably similar.

The pursuit of Perseus by the Gorgons is a favorite subject in early Greek art. It was represented on the chest of Cypselus¹ and on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae,² and is one of the commonest subjects on vases of the sixth century.³ But the treatment of the subject here differs in many respects from the ordinary types. The direction of the movement is here from right to left, not from left to right as it ordinarily is, and the Gorgons have purely human form. For this feature of the relief, I know of no exact parallels. On a South Italian medallion crater in Naples,⁴ Perseus is pursued by two female figures undoubtedly intended to represent Gorgons, but the presence of a satyr suggests dramatic influence. In archaic art the Gorgons are regularly depicted with the mask-like gorgoneion in place of the head. Yet the interpretation of the fleeing figure in our relief as Perseus, certainly seems justified by the *kibisis*, which has exactly the form in which it is most commonly represented in vase paintings, either carried on the arm of the hero⁵ or suspended about his shoulders,⁶ and the peculiar cap is best explained as an attempt to suggest the *Ἀϊδου κυνέη*, though the usual form for this in archaic art is the petasus or pilos.⁷

B, 1, c. *Achilles and Troilus*. — Troilus, mounted, flees toward the left, pursued by Achilles, who seizes him by the

¹ Paus. V, 18, 5.

² Paus. III, 18, 11.

³ Cf. F. Knatz, *Quomodo Persei fabulam artifices tractaverint*, Bonn, 1893, and E. Kuhnert in Roscher's *Lex. Myth.* III, 2, cols. 1986–2060, s.v. Perseus.

⁴ Heydemann, *Cat. No. 1767, Mus. Borb. XIII*, pl. 59.

⁵ Cf. Berlin, 1652, *Mon. d. Ist.* X, pl. 52 (Corinthian amphora); Munich, 1187, Gerhard, *A. V.*, pl. 216 (black-figured amphora); Bibliothèque Nationale, 277, *Ann. d. Ist.* 1851, pl. P (black-figured lecythus); Vienna, 221, *Ann. d. Ist.* 1866, pl. R (black-figured hydria).

⁶ Cf. Munich, 910, Gerhard, *A. V.* pl. 89, 3, 4 (red-figured amphora).

⁷ A form very similar to that on our relief appears on the head of Perseus on the bucchero oenochoe, Micali, *Mon. per servire*, pl. 22.

hair and thrusts at him with a long spear. Troilus seems intent only on flight. He has a long spear which he holds with both hands, but makes no effort to use. He is dressed in the usual short chiton with sleeves. The horse resembles the Pegasus of A, 2, b, but differs from him in that his fore legs are raised and bent at a sharp angle. Achilles wears a short chiton with sleeves, confined at the waist by a broad girdle, of which an end hangs down in front. The figure is less well drawn than most of the figures in the reliefs, the raised right arm being especially awkward. Underneath the body of the horse part of a third figure, apparently a fallen warrior, can be made out.

The interpretation of this subject as Achilles and Troilus was first suggested by Mr. Salomon Reinach, and although it is not without difficulties, it seems to me highly probable. The subject is a common one on vases of the sixth century, and the type in general corresponds closely to the composition on our relief. Troilus, to be sure, is usually unarmed, and commonly he rides one horse and leads another. Achilles ordinarily is armed with shield and helmet, and does not actually lay hold of Troilus. The space under the body of the horse, if it is filled at all, is commonly occupied by a hydria or some other sort of vase.¹ But a parallel can be found on the vases for almost every unusual feature of the relief, especially if the comparison is extended to include the closely related type where Achilles is depicted lying in wait for Troilus. Thus Troilus is occasionally represented armed with a staff or two spears.² Sometimes he has only one horse.³ Achilles occasionally seizes Troilus⁴ and sometimes he is armed only with a spear.⁵ Troilus

¹ Cf. the François Vase, Furtwängler-Reichhold, pls. 11, 12.

² Cf. the black-figured amphora, Berlin, 1685, Gerhard, *Etrusk. u. Camp. Vasenb.* pl. 20-21 (the spear which appears in the drawing is said by Furtwängler to be incorrect; the object is really a staff); red-figured pelike, Louvre, G 231, *Mon. d. Ist.* X, pl. 22, 1 (two spears); black-figured lecythus, *Arch. Zeit.* 1856, pl. 91, 1, 2 (ambush scene, two spears).

³ So on a "Chalcidian" amphora, Louvre, E 811, Pottier, *Vas. Ant. du Louvre*, pl. 57. Cf. also the black-figured oenochoe, *Ann. d. Ist.* 1835, pl. D, 2; Vienna, 221, *Ann. d. Ist.* 1866, pl. R (black-figured hydria, ambush scene); Brit. Mus. E 10, Gerhard, *A. V.* pl. 186 (red-figured cylix).

⁴ Cf. Louvre, E 703, Gerhard, *A. V.* pl. 185 (Ionic amphora).

⁵ Cf. the "Chalcidian" amphora, Louvre, E 811, mentioned in note 3 *supra*.

not infrequently has a male companion or companions.¹ For the warrior under the horse of Troilus I know of no other example, but such a figure is so convenient to fill the awkward space, that it requires, perhaps, no further explanation.²

B, 2, a (PLATE XIV). *Pair of winged Figures heraldically grouped*. — They are represented as if they had just met. Both have their knees bent, in the position which is regularly adopted in archaic art to denote running or flying. Both figures have one hand clasped in front of the breast; the other is open and thrown out behind. Their wings are attached at the hips and have recurving ends. The dress is hardly indicated, but consists of the usual short chiton with short sleeves. The end of the girdle is visible on each figure. The subject may possibly be the winged sons of Boreas, Calais and Zetes.

B, 2, b. *Two Sphinxes confronted*. — The bodies are slender, the legs muscular. The tails are similar to those of the sphinx of A, 1, a and the lion of A, 2, a. The hair is represented falling to the shoulders, with fine incised lines to suggest the separate strands.

B, 2, c. *Fight between mounted Warriors*. — The two figures are identical except for the fact that they face in opposite directions. Both horses rear, so that their fore legs come close together. The men are dressed in short chitons, over which in each case is thrown a cloak, and on their backs they have quivers, which swing out behind with the violence of the riders' motion. Each draws a bow to shoot at the other. The warrior at the right wears a sort of pilos. Underneath the horses there are traces of a fallen warrior stretched upon the ground.³

¹ Cf. *Ann. d. Ist.* 1850, pl. EF, 1 (black-figured hydria, ambush scene), Vienna, 221, and *Brit. Mus.* E 10.

² For a somewhat similar representation of the pursuit of Penthesilea by Achilles on a "Chalcidian" amphora in St. Petersburg, and a discussion of the influence of this scene on the representations of the pursuit of Troilus, see Loeschke, *Bonner Studien*, pp. 257 ff.

³ The representations of a man between two rearing horses are collected by Loeschke, *Bonner Studien*, pp. 248 ff. Where the scene represents a fight over a fallen warrior, the riders on the Attic amphoras always carry spears, even when one of them is an Amazon. Loeschke argues that this type, and also the representation of Amazons on horseback, originated in Ionia.

B, 3, a (PLATE XV). *Heracles and the Nemean Lion*.—Heracles, dressed in a short chiton with sleeves, kneels on his right knee, with his left leg firmly braced. He has thrown his left arm around the neck of the lion, and clasping his left wrist with his right hand, he strangles the monster, whose open jaws and weakly raised forepaw show clearly the force of the hero's grip. Heracles is characterized only by the great quiver on his back, a common attribute in archaic work.

On the throne of Apollo at Amyclae, one of the subjects represented was Heracles strangling the lion,¹ and it is as a sort of wrestling match that this contest is commonly represented. On black-figured vases two principal types can be distinguished: in one, Heracles, standing erect, strangles the lion, which rears on its hind legs; in the other the lion is on the ground, and Heracles stoops forward to strangle it.² The scheme of the composition on the relief does not agree with either of these "normal" types, but resembles rather the scheme most commonly adopted for Heracles' contest with Triton.³ In representations of this contest, Heracles regularly seizes Triton about the shoulders and grips one wrist firmly with the other hand. Usually he is astride the back of the monster, but sometimes he kneels beside him⁴ as he kneels beside the lion here. The reason for the adoption of such a scheme of composition in our relief is probably to be found in the shape of the space to be filled, which did not lend itself to either of the "normal" types of the contest with the lion. In the figure of Heracles it is noticeable that the short hair is in marked contrast to the long hair of the other figures on the tripods. This is a regular characteristic of Heracles.⁵ The

¹ Cf. Paus. III, 18, 15: ἀγχων Ἡρακλῆς τὸν λέοντα.

² Cf. Reisch, *Ath. Mitt.* XII, 1887, pp. 124 ff.; Walters, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Vases*, II, pp. 13 f., and *Hist. Anc. Pottery*, II, pp. 95 f.

³ Cf. for lists of examples, Gerhard, *A.V.* II, p. 95; Stephani, *Compte Rendu*, 1867, pp. 21 f.; Petersen, *Ann. d. Ist.* 1882, pp. 75 ff.; Studniczka, *Ath. Mitt.* XI, 1886, p. 65.

⁴ Cf. the bronze relief from Olympia, *Ergebnisse*, IV, No. 699, pl. 39, and the two poros reliefs from the Acropolis, Wiegand, *Porosarchitektur*, pp. 82 ff., pl. 4 and p. 195, Fig. 213. In the relief from the temple at Assos (Clarke, *Investigations at Assos, 1882, 1883*, p. 250, Fig. 52), the pose of Heracles is similar, but his knee does not touch the ground line.

⁵ Cf. Furtwängler in Roscher's *Lex. Myth.* I, col. 2147.

absence of all attributes except the quiver, also, is not unusual.¹

B, 3, b. *Peleus and Thetis*.—The scheme of the composition is somewhat different from that of the similar subject on A, 3, b. Thetis rushes toward the right, her left arm raised in terror, her right arm bent at the elbow, with the hand firmly grasping the folds of her skirt. But her flight is checked by Peleus, who has locked his left arm into her right, and throws up his right arm as if to deal a blow, unterrified by the lion's head with open jaws, which marks the first transformation of the goddess. Behind him, Hermes, characterized by *kerykeion* and petasus, strides quickly forward. The dress of Thetis is the same as that of the Gorgons of B, 1, b, and she holds the fulness of her skirt in the same manner. Peleus and Hermes wear short chitons, and on the latter figure the end of the girdle can be clearly seen hanging down in front. All three figures have shoes with pointed toes.

In representations of the wrestling of Peleus and Thetis, the lion is very frequently introduced to suggest one of the transformations of the goddess.² Sometimes it appears alone, sometimes in combination with other animals or with fire.³ Occasionally, too, as here, the change is indicated by the lion's head alone.⁴ The figure of Hermes is unusual in connection with Peleus and Thetis, but he appears occasionally in the ordinary wrestling scenes.⁵

¹ *Ibid.* col. 2140.

² Cf. Brit. Mus. B 465 (black-figured cyathus); Munich, 653 (black-figured amphora); Bibl. Nat. 539, De Luynes, pl. 34 (severe red-figured cylix); Munich, 369, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, Series A, pl. 1 (severe red-figured cylix).

³ Cf. the black-figured lecythus, Berlin, 2003 (lion and fire); Duris cylix, Louvre, G 116, *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, Series VII, pl. 2 (lion and serpent); Peithinos cylix, Berlin, 2279, Gerhard, *Trinkschalen*, pl. 9, 1 (lion and three serpents).

⁴ Cf. Roulez, *Choix de vases peints du Mus. d'Ant. de Leyde*, pl. 12 (black-figured hydria, lion's head rising from the shoulder of Thetis); Brit. Mus. B 215, Micali, *Mon. per servire*, pl. 84, 4, *Él. Cér.* II, pl. 25, *Brit. Mus. Cat. of Vases*, II, p. 25, Fig. 33 (black-figured amphora; a lion's head rises from the shoulder of Thetis, and a panther crouches on the back of Peleus).

⁵ Cf. Munich, 538, a black-figured volute crater with Peleus and Thetis wrestling in the presence of four Nereids, Hermes, and Chiron; Brit. Mus. E 9, a severe red-figured cylix (Φειδων καλός), Gerhard, *A.V.* pls. 178-179, Overbeck, *Gall. Her. Bild.* pl. 7, 4, with Nereids fleeing from the wrestling of Peleus and

B, 3, c. *Apollo and Tityos*. — Tityos flees toward the right, supported by his mother, Ge, and pursued by Apollo. The pose of the giant differs from that of other fleeing figures in these reliefs, in that his right knee almost touches the ground. This suggests that the artist wished to represent him sinking to the ground as a result of the wounds inflicted by Apollo's arrows. Two of these are already fixed in the giant's back, and he is apparently trying to pull one of them out with his right hand. His dress is the same short chiton that the other male figures wear, with the same indication of the girdle. In front of his left shoulder is a lock of hair falling to the breast, and over this shoulder the hair appears as a mass falling over the back. The manner in which this is represented shows that the head was turned to look back at Apollo. The giant's left arm is thrown about the neck of Ge, who thus supports him. Her pose is similar to that of Thetis in the band above (*Knielaufschema* to right), and like her she holds up the fullness of her short-sleeved chiton with her right hand. Her left hand, however, is not raised, but is lowered, grasping her right wrist. On her right foot (the left is not preserved), she wears a shoe with a turned-up toe. Like Tityos she turns her head and looks back at Apollo. The god is represented launching a third arrow at the giant. His left arm, extended, holds the bow; his right arm is drawn back, with the hand close to the cheek. His dress consists of a short chiton only, with an indication of the belt strap at the waist. At his left side swings a long scabbard, from which projects a large sword-hilt.

The interpretation of this scene as Apollo and Tityos was suggested by Professor W. N. Bates of the University of Pennsylvania, and seems to me certain. That the subject was current in archaic art is shown by its occurrence on the throne of the Amyclaeon Apollo,¹ on several sixth-century vases,² and on

Thetis on one side, and on the other Hermes bringing the news of the contest to Nereus and Amphitrite (?).

¹ Paus. III, 18, 15: Τιτυὸν δὲ Ἀπόλλων τοξεύει καὶ Ἀρτεμις.

² Cf. the Ionic amphora, Bibl. Nat. 171, referred to *supra*, p. 294, note 4; "Corintho-Attic" amphora, Louvre, E 864, *Mon. Ann. e Bull.* 1856, pl. 10, 1; black-figured fragment from the Acropolis, 'Εφ. Ἀρχ. 1883, pl. 3; and the vase in the Ravestein Collection in the Brussels Museum (*Musée de Ravestein*, No. 223), mentioned by Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 84, note 4.

two Ionic gold rings.¹ On these monuments, as on the later, red-figured vases, there is no fixed type for the subject.² Apollo is usually accompanied by Artemis, though he appears alone in several cases.³ His usual weapon is the bow, but he sometimes wears a sword at his side,⁴ as in our relief, and on red-figured vases there are cases where he uses the sword as a weapon.⁵ In three cases he is represented in a chariot.⁶ The female figure associated with Tityos seems sometimes to be Ge, sometimes Leto, but the weight of evidence, as Overbeck shows,⁷ is for Ge. In our relief, she seems so clearly to be assisting the giant that the interpretation as Ge can hardly be doubted.

TRIPOD C (PLATES XVI-XVIII)

This is the smallest of the tripods, but the reliefs are in some ways the finest of all. The dimensions are: Height as reconstructed, 89.1 cm. Height of plaques with relief decoration, inside mouldings, 48.5 cm. Bottom width of plaques, 22.5 cm.

The upper part is extremely fragmentary. The bowl could not be restored at all, and the mouldings of the cylindrical support are so poorly preserved that their relations cannot be accurately determined. Enough is preserved, however, to show that the support was very elaborate. One of the covering rods is preserved in its original position. The tripod is unusual in

¹ One in the Louvre, *Ann. d. Ist.* 1842, pl. U, and Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, p. 84, Fig. 57, the other in the Cabinet des Médailles, Furtwängler, *ibid.* Fig. 58.

² Cf. in general Overbeck, *Kunstmyth, Apollo*, pp. 382-391, with pl. 19, 8 and pl. 23, 2-8. The red-figured celebe, *Ann. d. Ist.* 1830, pl. H, *Él. Cér.* II, pl. 57, Reinach, *Répertoire des vases peints*, I, p. 249, is now among the Loeb vases in the Fogg Museum of Art at Cambridge, Mass.

³ Cf. Bibl. Nat. 171, *Mus. de Ravestein*, 223, the gold rings, and the vase in the Fogg Museum.

⁴ Cf. Bibl. Nat. 171, the Louvre amphora, and the red-figured amphora, Brit. Mus. E 278, *Mon. d. Ist.* I, pl. 23.

⁵ Cf. the Louvre crater, G 164, *Mon. Ann. e Bull.* 1856, pl. 11; Munich, 402, Furtwängler-Reichhold, pl. 55 (cylix of late severe style); Louvre, G 375, *Mon. Ann. e Bull.* 1856, pl. 10, 2 (amphora of free style).

⁶ Bibl. Nat. 171 and the two gold rings.

⁷ *l. c.*, pp. 383 ff.

having three winged heads, which covered the joints of the sides of the triangular stands.

C, 1, a (PLATE XVI). *Seated Chimaera facing left*. — The form is the same as that of the Chimaera of A, 1, b, the goat's head being attached to a wing, and the tail ending in a serpent's head. All three mouths are open, though the Chimaera here is purely decorative. In the mane the separate locks of hair are brought out by careful incision, and on the wing feathers are suggested by the same means.

C, 1, b. *Perseus and Athena* (?). — The figure of Perseus is very similar to that on B, 1, b. He flees toward the left, followed by the goddess. The hero wears a short chiton with a decorated border (the pattern cannot be clearly made out), high boots with wings attached, and a cap of peculiar form like that of the Perseus of B, 1, b. With his left hand he supports the *kibisis*, which is especially large and is slung about his neck by a broad strap. His right arm is raised. Below the *kibisis* the end of a belt is visible. The female figure seems to be protecting Perseus, and so is probably to be interpreted as Athena. She wears a chiton which reaches only to the knee and high boots with wings attached. Her head is turned as if to look toward the pursuing Gorgons, and in her raised

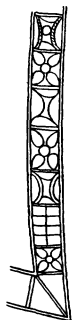


FIGURE 3.

hands she holds a heavy robe, apparently for the purpose of shielding Perseus. Robe and chiton are studded with small incised rosettes, and have embroidered edges (cf. Fig. 3 for the pattern on the outer edge of the robe). The hair of both figures is carefully incised.

The interpretation of the female figure as Athena is doubtful on account of her lack of the usual attributes. Some instances, however, of such a representation of Athena associated with Perseus can be quoted,¹ and the goddess is so regularly the companion and helper of Perseus in his adventure with the

¹ Corintho-Attic *deinos*, Louvre, E 874, Pottier, *Vas. Ant. du Louvre*, pls. 60-62; black-figured bowl from Aegina, Berlin, 1682, *Arch. Zeit.* 1882, pl. 9; black-figured amphora "under Chalcidian influence," Brit. Mus. B 155, Gerhard, *A. V.* pl. 323; bucchero oenochoe in Palermo, Micali, *Mon. per servire*, pl. 22.

Gorgons that no other interpretation seems likely. The ornamentation of the robe with incised rosettes finds a parallel in early relief vases which are clearly influenced by vases in metal.¹

C, 1, c. *Fight over a fallen Warrior*. — The wounded man has fallen backward. His right arm is stretched out behind him; his left is extended toward his comrade in a gesture of entreaty. He is dressed only in chiton and Corinthian helmet, without breastplate or greaves. The chiton has an incised pattern along the lower edge, consisting of crosses in metope-like squares, and the line of the girdle is carefully indicated. The helmet crest is decorated with hatched lines. The fighting warriors are posed in the usual manner, thrusting at each other with spears. The one at the right wears a Corinthian helmet with a low crest, a shield of Boeotian type, and greaves which cover the knees. On his shield two panthers' heads *en face* are incised as a device, and the border is decorated with a wave pattern. The crest of the helmet is decorated with hatched lines. The greaves were apparently plain. The warrior on the left is also in full armor (Corinthian helmet with low crest, breastplate, round "Argolic" shield, and greaves which cover the knees). The crest of the helmet is hatched; the breastplate has a spiral ornament; the inside of the shield is adorned with bands of hatching. Below the breastplate, which has a strongly projecting lower edge, the lower part of a short chiton with traces of incised borders can be seen. At the right of the group a bird perched on a branch is introduced as a filling ornament.

This type is so common in archaic art that the noting of parallels is superfluous. Attention may be called, however, to the marked similarity of this relief to a scene on a Clazomenian sarcophagus in Berlin.²

C, 2, a (PLATE XVII). *Seated Sphinx facing left*. — Only the body, the greater part of the head, and the tip of the wing are preserved. The moulding at the top of the plaque makes

¹ Cf. Pottier, 'Vases à reliefs,' *Mon. Grecs*, II, Nos. 14-16, pp. 43 ff., pl. 8, 1; De Ridder, 'Amphores béotiennes à reliefs,' *B.C.H.* XXII, 1893, pp. 439-471 and 497-519.

² *Ant. Denk.* I, pl. 44.

it possible to determine the position of the head, and this shows that the sphinx had a long neck, like the sphinxes on the third side of the same tripod (C, 3, b). The hair and the feathers of the wing are carefully incised.

C, 2, b. *Peleus and Thetis*.—Thetis flees toward the left, pursued by Peleus. The goddess is dressed in high boots and a short chiton, reaching to just below the knees, with an elaborate incised pattern running down the side and about the

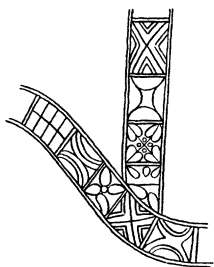


FIGURE 4.

lower edge (Fig. 4). Her right hand is raised, her left lowered. Behind her head appears a lion's head with open jaws. Peleus seizes Thetis with his left hand and throws up his right. He wears a short chiton reaching to just below the waist, with an incised pattern along the lower edge. The end of his girdle is carefully indicated. The attempt to indicate the line of the backbone, though unskilful, is noteworthy. Behind Peleus a bird on a

twig serves as a filling ornament.¹

C, 2, c. *Heracles and the Nemean Lion*.—The scheme of the composition is similar to that of B, 3, a, except that the direction of the action is reversed. Here, as there, Heracles is characterized by his short hair and by the quiver on his back, and he overcomes the lion by strangling it. There are a number of minor differences. Heracles' left knee does not touch the ground line. The lion's fore paws are both on the ground. His tail is not lowered, but rises above his back in the great spiral which is so characteristic of the animals on these reliefs. The differences of treatment here seem to be due to the different shape of the space to be filled. The mane of the lion shows the same careful incision as that of the Chimaera of C, 1, a. The chiton of Heracles has traces of incised borders, and the end of his belt is represented, hanging down in front.²

C, 3, a (PLATE XVIII). *Kneeling Bowman (Heracles?) facing left*.—He wears a short chiton with incised borders and with the end of the girdle indicated in the usual manner. In

¹ Cf. for the figures the notes on A, 3, b and B, 3, b, and for the bird C, 1, c.

² Cf. the discussion of B, 3, a.

his hands he holds a bow and arrow, the bow partially bent, the arrow on the string. Bowstring and arrow are represented by incision only. On his back is his quiver, represented with great detail. It is decorated with a pattern at the top and with oblique lines on the body, and holds four arrows, the ends of which are indicated by incised lines. The cover hangs down behind. The legs and torso of the figure show careful modelling. In front is a small bush or tree, behind which the bowman is evidently conceived as hiding.

The kneeling bowman is probably to be identified as Heracles, who is frequently represented as a bowman in early art, especially in his contest with the Centaurs.¹ Occasionally only the bow is represented, but more frequently the hero has bow and quiver,² and to these a sword is often added.³ Used alone and purely decoratively, as it is here, such a figure of Heracles as a kneeling bowman is rare, but a fragmentary bronze from Olympia⁴ offers a good parallel, and a relief from Boeotia,⁵ a poor one. The short hair of our figure is an additional argument in favor of the identification as Heracles. The tree in front of the figure is similar to that on an Ionic amphora in the Louvre.⁶

C, 3, b. *Two Sphinxes confronted*. — Each is an exact replica of the other except for the difference of direction. In comparison with the sphinxes on tripods A and B (A, 1, a; B, 2, b), they are remarkably slender, with very long necks and rather small wings. Each raises one fore paw and rests the other on a palmette, which, however, is only indicated by incision, so that the lowered fore feet seem to have no support. The bodies are more carefully modelled than those of the sphinxes on A and B, and there is very careful incision in the hair of the two figures. The edge of the wing is treated dec-

¹ Cf. Clarke, *Investigations at Assos*, 1881, p. 107, pl. 15.

² Cf. the "proto-Corinthian" lecythus, Berlin, 336, *Arch. Zeit.* 1883, pl. 10, 1. The figure is very similar to that on this relief, even to the representation of four arrows in the open quiver.

³ Cf. the well-known bronze relief from Olympia, *Ergebnisse*, IV, No. 696, pl. 38.

⁴ *Ergebnisse*, IV, No. 717, pl. 40.

⁵ *Ann. d. Ist.* 1880, pl. H.

⁶ E 703, Gerhard, *A. V.* pl. 185.

oratively, in a series of scallops. The tails are used to fill an awkward space.

C, 3, c. *Goddess of the so-called Persian Artemis Type between two Lions*. — The goddess was represented in the running or kneeling attitude of archaic art, facing right. The left leg is lost, but the bent right knee clearly shows the position. She wears a short chiton with *apoptygma*, which shows traces of incised patterns along the edges and down the front. Her hair is confined by a fillet and was evidently treated as a mass falling over her back, with several strands hanging down in front. Over the forehead it is represented as a series of carefully arranged waves. With each hand she grasps a lion around the shoulders, while the lions rest one fore paw on the goddess's thigh and lay the other on her shoulder. The animals are very carefully worked out, with ears laid back and jaws open. The manes are carefully incised.

The "Persian Artemis" standing between two animals is one of the most frequently used of archaic decorative compositions.¹ The employment of the running motive for such a figure is unusual, but finds a parallel on a vase signed by Nicosthenes² and on several archaic gems.³

The question of the date of the tripods can be quickly dismissed. They are obviously products of the archaic period. The figures of the reliefs, and the figures in the round as well, have all the characteristics of archaic art,—the stiff, angular poses, heavy thighs and calves, mouths drawn up into the "archaic smile," eyes in full front in profile heads, hair treated as a mass falling over the neck, with single locks sometimes in front of the shoulders, and close-fitting heavy garments with little or no attempt to represent the fall of the separate folds. The great use of incision instead of modelling to represent details is also characteristic of archaic art, as well as the *horror vacui*, which leads to the introduction of birds and other animals to fill awkward spaces. Finally, in many of

¹ Cf. Wernicke, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realenc.* s.v. Artemis, cols. 1413, 1414, for lists of examples.

² In the Vatican, *Mus. Greg.* II, pl. 33, 2 a (first ed.), pl. 27, 2 a (second ed.); cf. *Arch. Zeit.* 1854, pl. 64, 8.

³ *E.g.* Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. VII, 50; *Arch. Zeit.* 1854, pl. 63, 2.

the reliefs, as I have tried to point out in describing them, the scheme of the composition finds its closest analogies in the work of the painters of black-figured vases. From all these indications it is clear that the tripods were made during the archaic period, and we shall not be far wrong if we date them about the middle of the sixth century B.C.

The problem of the makers of the tripods and their stylistic affinities cannot be disposed of so easily.¹ Like so many other objects found in the Etruscan tombs, they bring us face to face with the difficult question of the relations of the Etruscans with Greece in the sixth century and the yet more difficult problem of the distinction between Greek and Etruscan workmanship, which still remains, in spite of much discussion, one of the most complex and unsatisfactory problems in the whole range of classical archaeology. In some fields, to be sure, the problem has been largely solved. No one, probably, would now dispute the fact that the great majority of the painted vases found in the Etruscan tombs are Greek. Yet even here, in the case of individual examples, it is often difficult, if not impossible, to say whether we are dealing with an original Greek work or an Etruscan imitation. The same is true, to an even greater extent, in the case of other classes of work, such as bronzes, gems, rings, and jewellery. Though many specimens can be identified as surely Greek or surely Etruscan, there still remain doubtful groups which might be either Greek or Etruscan. The cause of the difficulty is, of course, the fact that the Etruscans were strongly influenced in all their development by the Greeks, adopting not only Greek methods and processes, but even Greek subjects and schemes of composition.

In the case of the tripods, the problem is, perhaps, less difficult than in some other cases. To me, at least, the reliefs of the tripods have a freshness and directness which are very different from the essentially imitative character of most products of

¹ Throughout the argument which follows, I assume that the tripods, if not all the work of the same artist, are at least products of a closely related group of bronze workers. The point might be disputed, but I hope the many similarities to which I have called attention in the descriptions are sufficient to justify this assumption. I shall, therefore, speak of the "artist" or "maker" or "designer" of the tripods in a generic sense, without meaning to imply that all are necessarily the work of a single man.

Etruscan art. This point, which contains the essence of the whole matter, can best be made clear by a comparison of the reliefs with those of another important monument of archaic art, which I believe to be of Etruscan origin,—the chariot



FIGURE 5. — RELIEFS ON SIDES OF BRONZE CHARIOT.

from Monteleone now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York¹ (Figs. 5 and 6). There are, to be sure, many similarities between the figures of the tripod reliefs and those of the chariot. Both display the same archaic traits in the drawing

¹ Published by Furtwängler in Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pls. 586, 587. In the descriptive text which accompanies these plates, Furtwängler argues that the chariot is not Etruscan, but Ionic Greek. In a note, also, which I received from him just after the publication of the brief account in the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum noted above (p. 289, note 1), he wrote: "I do not quite agree with you: I do not see any essential difference between the art of the *char* and of the new tripod stands; to label one Greek, the other Etruscan, is, I think, wrong. All these works (and the fragments from Perugia in our museum belong to the same class) have been made in Etruria. It is 'Iono-Etruscan' art, as I should call it. The 'Iono-Etruscan' or 'Italian-Ionian' vases and some gold rings treated by me belong to the same group." It is with the greatest diffidence that I venture to differ from one whose remarkable knowledge and tireless industry have made his early death so great a loss to science. Yet I cannot but feel that there *is* a difference between the reliefs of the chariot and those of the tripods, and I hope the arguments I advance may seem valid to others. Incidentally it may be noted that *if* the chariot is Ionic Greek work, then the tripods are even more surely Greek, and (as I shall try to show) Ionic Greek. As to the Etruscan origin of the chariot, cf. the remarks of Mr. Robinson, *B. Metr. Mus.* I, 1906, p. 82.

of the figures, and the same tendency to use birds and other animals to fill awkward spaces. The details of costume and armor are essentially the same. Many of the differences, too, have no particular significance. The use of inlays for the eyes of the man and the woman and the heads on the shield in the large relief on the front of the chariot (which seems to be demanded by the hollow forms of the eyes) is due simply to the greater size and elaborateness of these figures. The use of incision for details in the chariot figures seems to be more extensive than in the tripod reliefs; but this again may be due to the larger size of the figures and the concealment of many patterns on the tripods by the patina. To some other differences more importance may be attached, though none of them is, in itself, sufficient to prove an Etruscan origin for the chariot. So the curious beard of the principal figures of the chariot reliefs, which covers only the lower part of the cheeks and the chin, is in marked contrast with the beardlessness of the figures on the tripods, and is, moreover, a common feature of works whose Etruscan origin cannot be doubted.¹ But a similar type of beard sometimes appears on monuments that are surely Greek, for instance on the well-known statue of the Calf-bearer from the Acropolis at Athens.²



FIGURE 6. — RELIEF ON FRONT OF CHARIOT.

¹ Cf. Micali, *Mon. per servire*, pl. 22 and pl. 51, 2, 3; and especially the large terra-cotta sarcophagi in the British Museum, *Cat. of Terra-cottas*, B 630, Murray, *Terra-cotta Sarcophagi*, pls. 9–11; in the Louvre, *Ann. d. Ist.* 1861, pp. 391–412, *Mon. d. Ist.* VI, pl. 59; and in the Villa Papa Giulio, *Mon. Ant.* VIII, 1898, pp. 521 ff., pls. 13, 14.

² *Mus. d'Athènes*, pl. 11, Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pl. 6, *Ath. Mitt.* XIII, 1888, p. 113. Cf. also the reliefs from Olympia, *Ergebnisse*, IV, Nos. 699,

Again, the representation of the hair by means of deep parallel grooves running straight back from the forehead, as it is treated in all the figures on the chariot where the head is uncovered, is common enough in archaic Etruscan monuments,¹ but hardly occurs in Greek works of the same period.

These, however, are minor matters, and in themselves they carry no great weight. Much more important are differences in the treatment of the figures and their relations to the spaces to be filled, in which the artist of the tripods shows himself greatly superior to the maker of the chariot. The most convincing proofs of the Etruscan origin of the chariot, in fact, are the many strange inaccuracies and careless blunders in the treatment of the figures, due not to archaic constraint, but to that curious lack of feeling for form which is, perhaps, the most marked characteristic of Etruscan art throughout the whole course of its development. Evidences of this defect are everywhere apparent,—in the marked disproportion between the arms of the warrior on the front of the chariot (the left arm has only about half the thickness of the right), in the inordinate length of the feet of this figure and those of the fighting warriors on one of the sides (compare the unusually small foot of the reclining female figure below the winged horses on the other side), in the long, thick thumb of the woman holding the helmet on the front. It is not quite fair, perhaps, to compare the “Apollo” figures of the chariot with the warrior on the cover of tripod B, because the difference of technique (the “Apollons” were beaten out of thin plates of bronze, the warrior was cast) gave the maker of the warrior a decided advantage. Yet one cannot but be struck by the purely schematic and conventional rendering of the “Apollons,” particularly in the treatment of the outline of the ribs. In the warrior, the artist has done his best to suggest the appearance of his model; the maker of the “Apollons” is satisfied with a mere approximation.

703, pl. 39, and the remarkable terra-cotta masks recently discovered by the British School at Sparta, *B.S.A.* XII, 1905–1906, pp. 324 ff. and 338 ff. and pl. 10.

¹ Cf. Micali, *Mon. per servire*, pls. 21, 4; 32, 4; 37, 8; 51, 1; Micali, *Mon. Ined.* pl. 26, 2.

But the best example of the contrast between the work of the Greek artist and that of the Etruscan imitator is afforded by a comparison of the relief on the right-hand side of the chariot with the similar scene on C, 1, a (Fig. 7). Here the subject is the same in both cases, a fight over a fallen warrior. But the spirit of the two is certainly very different. Especially noticeable is the contrast in the position of the fallen men. The wounded warrior of the tripod relief has fallen backward; he supports himself on his extended right arm, and seems to be trying to rise; his left hand is stretched out toward his com-



a.



b.

FIGURE 7.—FIGHTING WARRIORS. a. ON CHARIOT. b. ON TRIPOD C, 1, a.

rade in a very lifelike gesture of entreaty. The whole figure, though it suffers from the constraint and awkwardness which are inherent in archaic art, is obviously studied from life, and is convincing. In the chariot relief, on the other hand, the fallen warrior is crowded in between the feet of the fighting men in an utterly impossible position, with the body completely turned about at the waist, so that the figure looks like parts of two different men. The incongruity is masked, but by no means concealed, by the legs of the fighting men. In these figures, also, we find in the chariot relief many careless inaccuracies, which are in marked contrast with the painstaking fidelity of the figures on the tripod. The raised hand of

the warrior at the right is incorrectly drawn as a left hand, though the spear must surely be held in the right. The warrior at the left grasps his spear in a very unconvincing manner; the line of the knuckles demands a spear pointing downward, not horizontally.¹ The spear of the warrior at the right passes in front of his helmet-crest, but behind his helmet, and the point, where it projects from his adversary's back, is not in line with the shaft. I have already noted the extraordinary length of the feet of these standing warriors.

All these inaccuracies and careless blunders seem to me to be due, not to differences of period or of ability between the maker of the chariot and the maker of the reliefs, but to absolutely different conceptions of the function of art. The maker of the tripods uses every effort to give us an accurate reproduction of the figures and the scenes he represents; the maker of the chariot reliefs produces the impression of an imitator, using ready-made types in a decorative way, content if they fill the space and suggest the prototype.

This brings us to the second point, the relation of the artists to the space at their disposal. Here, again, there seems to me to be a marked contrast between the artist of the tripods and the maker of the chariot reliefs. In the tripods, the designer adapts his subjects to the space to be filled with great skill, so that there is no effect of crowding. In B, 1, b, Perseus is followed by two figures; in the shorter panel of C, 1, b, by only one; in C, 2, b, Peleus and Thetis appear alone; in A, 3, b and B, 3, b, a third figure is introduced; the position of the lion in B, 3, a is slightly different from his position in C, 2, c, owing to the different shape of the space to be filled. The designer of the chariot reliefs, on the other hand, seems to feel himself hampered by the frame of his composition. The legs of the winged horses attached to the chariot on the relief of the left-hand side are forced into unnatural positions by the reclining female figure below them; the female figure is awkwardly and unconvincingly posed, though the contortion is not so great as in the fallen warrior on the other side; and the

¹ The curious bending back of the spear-point is probably intentional, to suggest the powerlessness of the warrior's opponent to harm him. Cf. Furtwängler, *Text to Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler*, pls. 586, 587, p. 10.

chariot itself is so crowded into the corner that the wheel could not be completely represented. The horses of the tripod reliefs are not, perhaps, the most successful parts of the decoration, but none of them is so absolutely unnatural as this pair of winged steeds; and the rearing horses of B, 2, c, which are posed in a similar manner, afford an excellent opportunity for measuring the superiority of the designer of the tripod reliefs.

Finally, in the use of birds and other animals as filling ornaments, we can, I think, note another characteristic difference between Greek and Etruscan work. In the reliefs on the tripods, these never encroach on the principal figures, and sometimes, as in the case of the running dog of A, 2, b, they aid materially in producing the effect at which the artist was aiming. In the chariot reliefs, on the other hand, the birds and the deer of the principal field and the bird in the combat scene are used in a purely decorative way. Furtwängler, to be sure, argues that the birds are introduced as good omens "appearing on the right." The two birds of the larger relief are falcons or hawks attacking a fawn, which is represented proleptically as already overcome and lying on its back. It must be admitted that such an explanation is possible, but it seems to me forced and fanciful. The figure of the fawn, especially, crowded in as it is below the shield, looks as if it had been chosen and placed in this position because it would almost completely fill the awkward space at the bottom of the design.

All these differences, then, lead me to believe that the tripods are the work of a Greek artist (or artists), the chariot a product of Etruscan art. Very similar comparisons could be made with the series of bronze reliefs found near Perugia in 1812 and now partly in the local museum, partly in Munich.¹ For these, also (or at least for the larger part of them), a

¹ The more important of these reliefs have been published several times, best in *Ant. Denk.* II, 2, pls. 14, 15 and Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pls. 588, 589. They are exhaustively discussed by Petersen, *Röm. Mitt.* IX, 1894, pp. 253-319, where the literature up to 1894 is given. With them were found two fragmentary silver reliefs of similar style, which passed into the British Museum. These also are discussed by Petersen, *l.c.*, pp. 313-315, and the larger fragment is reproduced *Ant. Denk.* II, 2, p. 3.

Greek origin has been maintained,¹ but, I think, without sufficient reason. In the reliefs that appear to have formed part of the decoration of a four-wheeled cart,² especially, the hand of the imitator is shown by the meaningless way in which the figures are combined. Most of the types, as Petersen has shown, are drawn from Greek sources and can be paralleled in extant monuments, especially in those that can be associated, in one way or another, with the Ionic school. But the manner in which these elements are combined is essentially decorative; the artist obviously had no definite subject in mind, but chose from types with which he was familiar such as would most readily fill the space at his disposal.

In the case of the larger relief, which probably formed the decoration of a chariot,³ the question "Greek or Etruscan?" is more difficult to answer. The figures here are certainly not used in a purely decorative way, but are combined into a very definite composition, the contest of Heracles with Cygnus and Ares, and the figures, so far as they are preserved, are full of life and action. But even here, certain details point to an Etruscan, rather than a Greek, artist as the author of the relief. The fallen Amazon (?) in the right-hand corner is awkwardly crowded in below the horses in a way that recalls the reclining female figure on the chariot from Monteleone; the extremely long fingers of her extended right hand suggest the exaggerated proportions of which the chariot reliefs offer so many examples; and, above all, her left foot, which appears beyond the hoofs of the horses, cannot be brought into any relation with the lower leg.⁴ The clasped right hand, a part of which appears above the left shoulder of Heracles, cannot be brought into connection with the figure (for Heracles' right hand evidently grasped the club which appears above his head), and is

¹ Cf. Petersen, *l.c.*; Furtwängler, Text to Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pls. 588, 589.

² *Ant. Denk.* II, 2, pl. 15, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 8; Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, pls. 588, 589. It seems to me extremely doubtful if the other reliefs which are reproduced on pl. 15 really formed a part of the decoration of the cart.

³ *Ant. Denk.* II, 2, pl. 14.

⁴ Petersen (*l.c.*, p. 276, note 1) suggests that the artist here made a change in his drawing, but neglected to carry the alteration through consistently.

either a relic of an alteration in the drawing¹ or, perhaps more probably, the result of a "contamination" of two figures of Heracles, in one of which the hero drew his bow instead of using his club as a weapon. The curious failure to represent the wheel of Ares' chariot, and, above all, the unnatural turning about of the horses, by which their relation to the chariot is completely obscured, also seem to be marks of Etruscan authorship, — examples, again, of that domination of the designer by the frame of his composition to which I called attention in speaking of the chariot in New York.

In discussing the Perugia reliefs, Petersen lays great stress on the sharpness of the contours of the figures as proofs of Greek authorship. The majority of the fragments are Greek, he argues, because the relief rises clearly and definitely from the background, as it does in Greek relief work in stone, whereas in Etruscan imitations of Greek relief work, the figures do not rise sharply at the edges, and the contours are regularly marked by incised lines.² But is it not possible that an Etruscan artist, more skilful than the majority, might imitate this technical peculiarity of his Greek model as well as the poses and the grouping of the figures? There certainly is no lack of definite contours in archaic Etruscan reliefs in stone and terracotta, and a technical peculiarity like this is less safe as a criterion than peculiarities such as I have pointed out, which depend on the artist's attitude toward his work and his feeling for his subject.

The differences, then, between the reliefs from Perugia and the tripod reliefs are considerable, and they are of the same sort as the differences between the tripod reliefs and those of the chariot from Monteleone. Nevertheless, among the relics of archaic bronze work found in Etruria, these two monuments present very close analogies to the tripods, and are obviously related to them in some way or other. My opinion of the nature of this relation must be clear from what I have already written. The tripods seem to me to be works of Ionic Greek art, the chariot and the reliefs from Perugia examples of

¹ This is Petersen's explanation, *l.c.*, p. 278.

² Cf. *Röm. Mitt.* IX, 1894, p. 289, note 1, and p. 316 (in the discussion of No. 73).

Etruscan reliefs based on Ionic models. It is only in comparatively recent times that the great importance of Ionia in the early development of Greek art has begun to be recognized, and that the characteristics of Ionic art, as distinct from the art of the mainland of Greece, have been determined with any approach to certainty. The case is clearest in the fields of sculpture and painting, where certain monuments found in Ionia and the neighboring districts, such as the reliefs from the temple at Assos, the archaic column base from Miletus, the reliefs from the "Harpy" tomb, the Nike from Delos, the Hera of Samos, sporadic finds of vases and vase fragments, and, above all, the painted sarcophagi from Clazomenae, afford a solid basis for determining the characteristics of Ionic art in the sixth century B.C. These characteristics are, in general, a marked liveliness in the conception and execution of the figures, combined with a certain heaviness and fleshiness in the forms, interest in details of dress rather than in details of anatomy, certain peculiarities of costume, such as high-girt chitons, pointed hats, and shoes with turned-up toes, a fondness for unusual types of monsters and animals, a tendency to introduce trees and shrubs naturalistically treated as filling ornaments or to suggest the setting of a scene, and in decorative patterns a fondness for naturalistic and curvilinear forms which is clearly a direct inheritance from the art of the Mycenaean period.¹

¹ I cannot pretend to give a list of the articles and monographs in which the questions of Ionic art and Ionic influence have been discussed in recent years. In addition to those to which I have already referred, mention may be made of the following:—

A. Furtwängler, *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde* (Berlin, 1883); Cecil Smith, 'Early Paintings of Asia Minor,' *J.H.S.* VI, 1885, pp. 180 ff.; F. Dümmler, 'Über eine Classe gr. Vasen mit schwarzen Figuren,' *Röm. Mitt.* II, 1887, pp. 171 ff.; *id.* 'Vasenscherben aus Kyme in Aeolis,' *Röm. Mitt.* III, 1888, pp. 159 ff.; E. Pottier, 'Les sarcophages de Clazomène et les hydries de Caeré,' *B.C.H.* XVI, 1892, pp. 240 ff.; *id.*, 'Documents céramiques du Louvre,' *B.C.H.* XVII, 1893, pp. 423 ff.; A. Joubin, 'Sarcophages de Clazomène,' *B.C.H.* XIX, 1895, pp. 69 ff.; A. De Ridder, *De ectypis quibusdam quae falso vocantur "Argivo-Corinthiaca"* (Paris, 1896); L. Savignoni, 'Di un bron-zetto arcaico dell' Acropoli di Atene e di una classe di tripodi di tipo Greco-Orientale,' *Mon. Ant.* VII, 1897, pp. 277 ff.; R. Zahn, 'Vasenscherben aus Klazomenai,' *Ath. Mitt.* XXIII, 1898, pp. 38 ff.; J. Boehlau, *Aus ionischen u. italischen Necropolen* (Leipzig, 1898); J. Endt, *Beiträge zur ionischen Vasen-*

Most of these qualities appear in the reliefs of the tripods. There is a marked striving for liveliness in the poses of the figures, which are decidedly fleshy and heavy; the modelling of the nude is on the whole summary and superficial, but details of costume are carefully studied and conscientiously reproduced; high-girt chitons, pointed caps, and shoes with turned-up toes appear frequently; the branch which is introduced in front of the sphinx of A, 1, a and the lion of A, 2, a, and the tree behind which the bowman of C, 3, a crouches are naturalistically treated in the Ionic fashion. The monsters and animals are for the most part of ordinary types, but in the winged figures of B, 2, a we have, perhaps, a trace of the Ionic fondness for "Mischwesen," which is so marked in the Ionic and Ionizing vases. The decorative patterns are so largely obscured by the patina that they afford little basis for comparison, but attention may be called to the star which appears in the incised patterns on the garments of the figures of tripod C (Figs. 3 and 4). The form is not unlike a form that appears frequently on the Clazomenian sarcophagi, and its use to fill squares at irregular intervals in the pattern is similar to the arrangement of such stars on the sarcophagi, where they are commonly introduced between squares filled with maeander.¹ Most of these features of the reliefs have been noted in the descriptions, and there, too, the numerous references to Ionic monuments, especially vases,² serve to emphasize the Ionic character of the decoration of the tripods. One or two points of minor importance may be mentioned here. The treatment of the tails of the animals and sphinxes as spirals is largely due, no doubt, to the desire to fill an awkward space, but the very

malerei (Prague, 1899); G. Pellegrini, 'Fregi arcaici Etruschi in terracotta a piccole figure,' *Studi e Materiali di Archeologia e Numismatica*, I, 1899, pp. 87 ff.; J. Boehlau, 'Die ionischen Augenschalen,' *Ath. Mitt.* XXV, 1900, pp. 40 ff.; L. Savignoni, 'Di una sima Ionica con bassirilievi dell' isola di Creta,' *Röm. Mitt.* XXI, 1906, pp. 64 ff.; G. Körte, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s. v. Etrusker.

¹ Cf. *Ant. Denk.* II, 3, pl. 27.

² Cf. especially p. 292, note 2; p. 293, note 2; p. 294, notes 4, 6; p. 300, note 4; p. 301, note 3; p. 304, note 2; p. 305, note 1; p. 309, note 6. The parallels which I have occasionally noted in bucchero vases and other works of surely Etruscan origin (cf. p. 292, note 1; p. 299, note 7; p. 306, note 1) are to be explained as cases of Etruscan imitation of Ionic models.

frequent use of this scheme of composition in the tripod reliefs suggests that it was partly due to the fondness for curvilinear and spiraliform patterns which Ionic art inherited from the art of the Mycenaean age. The closest parallels for the Chimaera with the goat's head attached to a wing (cf. A, 1, b and C, 1, a) are found in Ionic monuments and in Etruscan monuments under Ionic influence.¹ The attachment of wings at the hips of human figures (cf. B, 2, a) is also more common on Ionic monuments than on those of the mainland. These details are of minor importance, but, taken in connection with the qualities noticed above, they help to confirm the Ionic origin of the tripods.

The difficult question whether the tripods were imported or made in Etruria I prefer to leave open, for the evidence that we have does not seem to me sufficient to warrant a decision. There may well be a kernel of truth in the tradition of Demaratus of Corinth and the artists who migrated with him to Tarquinii;² in fact, it seems to me highly probable that Greek artists settled in Etruria in the sixth century, and worked there.³ In the case of the tripods, the size of the vessels affords, perhaps, a slight argument for local manufacture. But with our present evidence the point cannot be definitely settled. The tripods may have been made in one of the great commercial cities of Asia Minor; in a colony of one of these cities; in Chalcis, whose art was strongly Ionic in character; or in Etruria itself. The one point which should be emphasized is that they are the work of a Greek, not of an Etruscan, artist.

It is this feature of these monuments, after all, that gives them their unique importance. My arguments for an Etruscan origin for the chariot from Monteleone and the reliefs from Perugia may not be accepted, and it may be questioned whether it is possible in our present ignorance of conditions in Etruria in the sixth century B.C. to distinguish between Greek and Etruscan work in monuments so closely related. Perhaps we

¹ Cf. p. 292, note 1.

² Cf. Plin. *H.N.* XXXV, 16 and 152; Livy I, 34; Dion. Hal. III, 46; Strabo, V, p. 219, and VIII, p. 378.

³ Cf. Furtwängler's remarks, *Ant. Gemmen*, III, pp. 89 f. and *Gr. Vasenmalerei*, I, pp. 93 ff.

ought not to try at present to go further than to group them all together as "Iono-Etruscan." But I hope I have at least made it clear that among these monuments the tripods have the best claim to be considered Greek, and that they are the best examples yet discovered of that Ionic art which exercised so great an influence on Etruscan art during the archaic period.

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TRIPOD A



TRIPOD A. SIDE 1



TRIPOD A. SIDE 2



TRIPOD A. SIDE 3



TRIPOD B



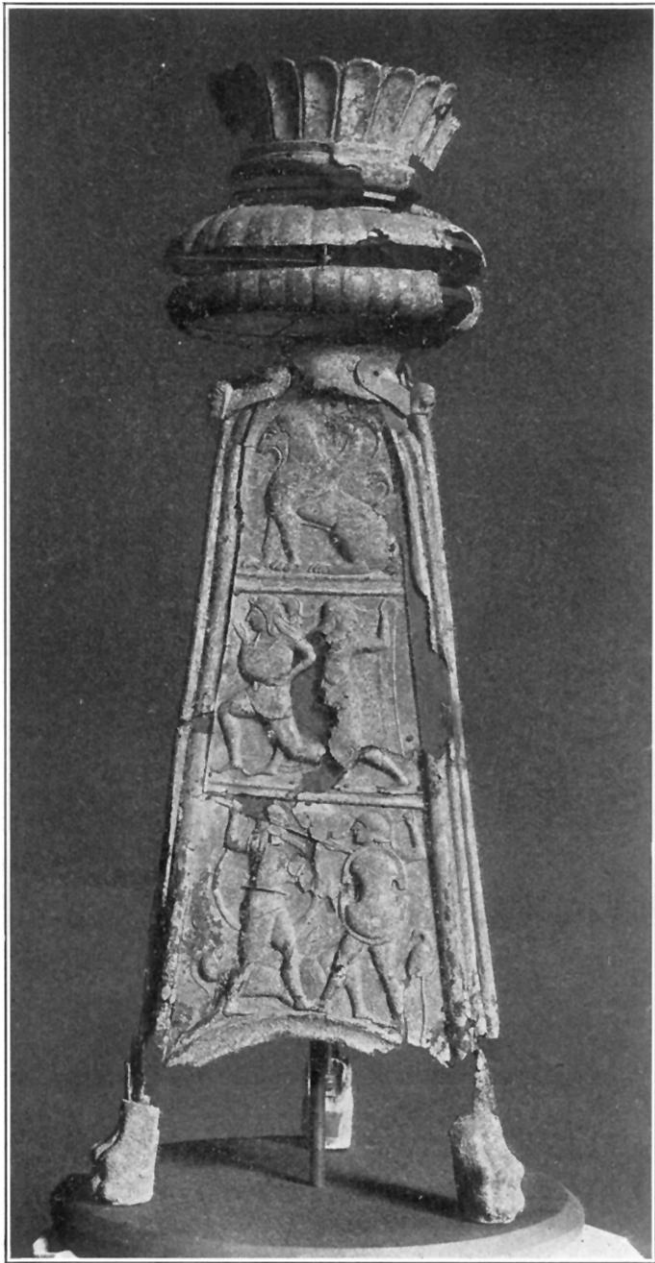
TRIPOD B. SIDE 1



TRIPOD B. SIDE 2



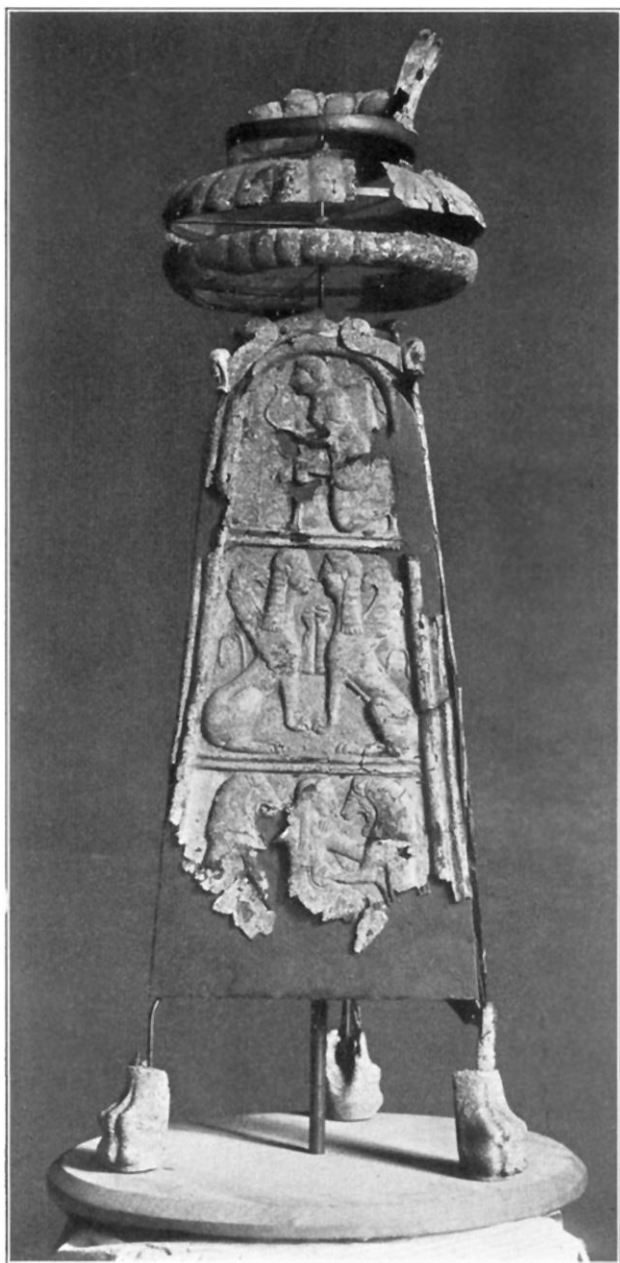
TRIPOD B. SIDE 3



TRIPOD C. SIDE 1



TRIPOD C. SIDE 2



TRIPOD C. SIDE 3